

THE STATUS AND INTERPRETATION OF *JUBILEES* IN 4Q390*

Todd R. Hanneken

The study of the book of *Jubilees* connects several areas of scholarship on Jewish thought and literature in antiquity. The Dead Sea Scrolls cast light on our understanding of Ethiopic *Jubilees*, and Ethiopic *Jubilees* casts light on our understanding of the Scrolls. *Jubilees* witnesses to the growing authority of the Pentateuch, and the ongoing pluriformity of texts. *Jubilees* can be studied as interpretation, and also as a source for interpretation. This contribution addresses the authority of *Jubilees* as reflected in the way it is used in 4Q390. Parallels between *Jubilees* and 4Q390 have long been noted. Careful examination of the parallels indicates that 4Q390 interprets *Jubilees* as Scripture.¹

The two parts of this essay treat two major foundations of this claim. The first is the way 4Q390 continuously adopts language and themes from *Jubilees*. The second is the way 4Q390 wrestles with the plain sense of the text to fit a different set of beliefs. This creative adaptation does not negate the claim that *Jubilees* was used as authoritative literature, but rather strengthens it. One measure of a text's authoritativeness is the attention paid to adapting it to fit new and different meanings.² This example from 4Q390 has broader implications. It adds to the evidence challenging the use of the category "biblical" in the study of the Scrolls, especially if the category excludes *Jubilees*. The appreciation of 4Q390 as a form of scriptural interpretation in turn casts light on our understanding of scriptural interpretation in general.

* We are all indebted to James VanderKam for his contributions to these questions, and particularly the connections between them. I am pleased to offer this study in his honor. I am also grateful to Alex Jassen, Michael Segal, Atar Livneh, and others for suggestions, comments, and discussion of the topics addressed in this paper.

¹ In order to conform to editorial standards, titles of non-canonical books are distinguished from those of canonical works by italics, and the word "Scripture" is capitalized. It should be clear, however, that these modern conventions are not indicative of the centuries before the Common Era.

² John Barton, "The Significance of a Fixed Canon of the Hebrew Bible," in *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 1 (ed. Magne Sæbø; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 67–83, here 78.

The present argument does not require a firm stance on the issues of relationship to other fragments, title, chronology, or date. It is legitimate to focus on 4Q390 as a unit of text without committing to any one of the numerous possible ways of characterizing the relationship between 4Q390 and other fragments labeled “Apocryphon of Jeremiah.” Similarly, referring to the text by number aids clarity in comparing the text to *Jubilees*, an address to Moses, without denying that a similar revelation could have been addressed to Jeremiah.³ The chronology proposed by 4Q390 involves some complexity beyond the scope of the present essay, but it warrants a brief discussion in that all of the likely possibilities support a date of composition of 4Q390 much later than that of *Jubilees*. The “historical apocalypse” in *Jubilees* 23 corresponds with the events described in 1 Maccabees, perhaps up through the retreat of Bacchides in 159 B.C.E., but there is strikingly no trace of the high-priesthood of Jonathan starting in 152. Even the latest possible date of composition before the oldest copy, dated by J. T. Milik to the second half of the second century, would still leave plenty of time before 4Q390. While *Jubilees* predicts an eschatological restoration (such as it is) in the same generation as the Maccabean revolt, 4Q390 allows for 140 years following the revolt, or at least seventy years.⁴ Eschatological chronologies are usually revised to “correct” unfulfilled predictions and still keep the promise in the

³ In an early study Devorah Dimant called 4Q390 “Pseudo-Moses” and subsequently concluded that 4Q390 is part of a larger composition addressed to Jeremiah. Cana Werman defends Dimant’s earlier judgment, that 4Q390 is an independent work addressed to Moses. See Devorah Dimant, “New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha—4Q390,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 405–48, here 408; D. Dimant, DJD 30:3; and Cana Werman, “Epochs and End-Time: The 490-Year Scheme in Second Temple Literature,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 229–55, here 243–49.

⁴ Hanan Eshel favors the interpretation that 4Q390 counts seventy years after the Maccabean revolt, but Eshel also notes the possibility that 140 years should be counted. See Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 26 n. 37, 131. Eshel reads the seven jubilees of the devastation of the land (4Q390 1 7–8) as starting *after* the seventy years of exile, but admits the problem that the devastation of the land should have started with the exile. If seven jubilees (343 years) preceded the revolt (seven years, 4Q390 2 i 4), and the total chronology is 490 years, then 140 years remain afterwards. If this is the case, seventy of those years are mentioned in 4Q390 2 i 6 as internal strife. Explicit mention of another seventy years would have to be imagined in the unreadable second column. The paleographic dating of 4Q390 allows for 140 years after the Maccabean revolt. Cana Werman reads the periods in the first fragment out of textual order, producing a chronology of 343 years + 70 years + 7 years + 70 years. See Werman, “Epochs and End-Time,” 244–45.

foreseeable future. The “prediction” in 4Q390 suggests a date of composition in the first century, perhaps not long before the one preserved copy, dated from paleography by Devorah Dimant to 30–20 B.C.E.⁵

DEPENDENCE ON *JUBILEES*

The first part of this essay will characterize the parallels between 4Q390 and *Jubilees* as sustained and direct dependence. The dependence can be seen in the persistence with which 4Q390 echoes *Jubilees* (even if they are not all exclusive), the similarity in themes and emphases, and the use of distinctive words and phrases. 4Q390 also contains significant parallels with the *Damascus Document*, which can be explained as both texts depending on *Jubilees*. Finally, the case for understanding 4Q390 as directly dependent on *Jubilees*, rather than influenced by the same milieu or a milieu influenced by *Jubilees*, will be reinforced by considering external evidence for the status and influence of *Jubilees*.

Many of the parallels between 4Q390 and *Jubilees* have been noted, but they have not been adequately appreciated or explained.⁶ It does not do justice to the relationship to include *Jubilees* in an indiscriminate list of parallels with other Jewish works from antiquity. If one filters the parallels suggested by Dimant to exclude much later works such as 2 *Baruch*, or parallels of a word or two without context, one would find that the list grows much shorter. Although the *Damascus Document* also merits discussion, *Jubilees* is dominant in frequency of parallels throughout 4Q390. Indeed, the following table shows that almost every phrase in 4Q390 could come from a parallel phrase in *Jubilees*, especially chapters 1 and 23. The discussion is hampered somewhat by the fact that *Jubilees* is preserved in its entirety only in Ethiopic, and reconstruction of the Hebrew original is by no means trivial. Yet, the dependence is not necessarily word-for-word quotation with grammatical nuances intact, although that sometimes occurs, but in paraphrased language and ideas that are evident even in translation. The table does not alter the translations by Dimant for 4Q390 and

⁵ Dimant argues for a much earlier date of composition. In DJD 30 she argues for the last quarter of the second century, and later suggests it could have been written around the same time as the Animal Apocalypse (164 B.C.E.). See D. Dimant, DJD 30:115–16; idem, “Israel’s Subjugation to the Gentiles as an Expression of Demonic Power in Qumran Documents and Related Literature,” *RevQ* 22 (2006): 373–88, here 388.

⁶ Dimant, “New Light from Qumran,” 437–439; idem, DJD 30:102–103, 238–243, 246–249.

James VanderKam for *Jubilees*, even when the same Hebrew idiom likely underlies different expressions in English.⁷ Significant portions of *Jubilees* preserved in the Scrolls are also provided (excluding cases where the Hebrew reconstructed by Milik and VanderKam matches 4Q390). The left column gives 4Q390 in its entirety, other than some stray words at the end, while the right column selects parallels and echoes from *Jubilees*. Parenthetical comments are italicized, and major differences are in bold face.

4Q390 (Dimant)	Excerpts from <i>Jubilees</i> (VanderKam)
Fig. 1, line 2 [and]be[fore me and a]gain I shall [deliver them]into the hand of the sons of Aar[on] seventy years []	I will deliver them into the control of the nations (1:13) (<i>Other than the crisis of the 160s, Jubilees is strongly pro-priest.</i>)
³ And the sons of Aaron will rule over them, and they will not walk [in]my[wa]ys,	Do not deliver them into the control of the nations with the result that they rule over them lest they make them sin against you...away from every proper path (1:19–20)
which I command you so that ⁴ you may warn (תעיד) them.	For this reason I am commanding you and testifying to you so that you may testify to them (6:38; cf. 1:1)
And they too will do what is evil in my eyes,	all that was on the earth had acted wickedly before his eyes (5:3)
like all that which the Israelites had done ⁵ in the former days of their kingdom,	(1:11 seems to refer to the pre-exilic period)
except for those who will come first from the land of their captivity to build ⁶ the Temple.	(<i>Other than Levi, Jubilees never singles out a group within Israel for elite status.</i>)
And I shall speak to them and I shall send them commandments,	I will give you the... commandments which I have written so that you may teach them. (1:1)

⁷ D. Dimant, DJD 30; James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (2 vols.; CSCO 510–11; Scriptores Aethiopici 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

Table (cont.)

4Q390 (Dimant)	Excerpts from <i>Jubilees</i> (VanderKam)
and they will understand everything which ⁷ they and their fathers had abandoned.	They will not listen until they acknowledge their sins and the sins of their ancestors. (1:22) they abandoned my statutes, my commandments (1:10; 23:26)
And from (the time) when that generation comes to an end, in the seventh jubilee ⁸ of the devastation of the land,	<i>(Although the counting of time with jubilees is fundamental and distinctive to Jubilees, Jubilees never fixes sin or restoration to a predetermined time.)</i>
they will forget statute and festival and Sabbath and covenant.	They will forget all my law, all my commandments, and all my verdicts. They will err (4Q216: [ושכחון], forget) regarding the beginning of the month, the sabbath, the festival, the jubilee, and the decree. (1:14, cf. 1:10; 6:37; 23:19)
And they will violate everything and they will do ⁹ what is evil in my eyes.	They will abrogate everything and will begin to do evil in my presence (<i>literally: what is evil in my eyes</i> , בעיני in 4Q216). (1:12)
Therefore I shall hide my face from them and deliver them into the hands of their enemies, והסתרתי פני מהמה ונתתים ביד איביהם	Then I will hide my face from them. I will deliver them into the control of the nations, ואסתי[ר] פני[ם] מהם ונתתי אותם ביד הגוי[ם] (1:13; 4Q216; “enemy” in 1:10)
and [I] shall deliver [them up] ¹⁰ to the sword.	He will deliver them to the sword (23:22)
But I shall leave ^{among them} refugees (פליטים),	<i>(Jubilees never describes a remnant within Israel. For possible ironic allusions to a remnant, see 21:25 [all Israel is the “remnant” of Isaac] and 23:21 [those who escape are wicked])</i>
s[o] that [t]he[y] should not be an[ni]h[il]ated in my wrath[and] when [my] fa[ce] is hidden ¹¹ from them.	so that they may [not] be destroyed from your presence. (1:20)
And the Angels of Mas[te]mot will rule over them,	May the spirits of Mastema not rule over you and your descendants to remove you from following the Lord who is your God from now and forever. (19:28) <i>(Mastema is a distinctive term in Jubilees, but Mastema never rules over Israel. God alone rules Israel [15:32].)</i>

Table (*cont.*)

4Q390 (Dimant)	Excerpts from <i>Jubilees</i> (VanderKam)
and[I shall]sp[urn them and they] will return ¹² to do [wh]at is evil	Those who escape will not turn from their wickedness to the right way (23:21)
in[my]eyes, and they will walk in the will[fulness of their heart]	following their eyes and their hearts (20:4)
Frg. 2 Col. i, line 2 [and my]house[and my altar and th]e Holy of Ho[lies] ³ so it was done []	They will defile the holy of holies with the impure corruption of their contamination. (23:21)
for these things will befall them[]	So it will be that when all of these things befall them (1:6)
and[there]will be ⁴ the rule of Belial over them	May the spirit of Belial not rule over them (1:20)
so as to deliver them to the sword	He will deliver them to the sword (23:22)
for a week of years[and]in that jubilee	(<i>see above; Jubilees never fixes sin or restoration to a predetermined time</i>)
they will be ⁵ violating all my statues and all my commandments which I shall have commanded th[em and	For they will forget all my commandments— everything that I command them ... they abandoned my statutes, my commandments (1:9, 10)
sent in the ha]nd of my servants, the prophets.	I will send witnesses to them so that I may testify to them (1:12, <i>in context the witnesses are prophets, but prophets are not lawgivers in Jubilees. See 4Q390 1 6 4Q216 II 12,</i> ואשלחה אל[יהם] ואשלחה אליהם מצוה עדים)
⁶ And[t]he[y]will be[gi]n to quarrel among themselves	One group will struggle with another ... regarding the law and the covenant. (23:19)
for seventy years,	(<i>see above; Jubilees never fixes sin or restoration to a predetermined time</i>)
from the day of the violation of the[oath and the] covenant which they will have violated.	a covenant—accompanied by an oath—with the Israelites during this month (6:11)

Table (cont.)

4Q390 (Dimant)	Excerpts from <i>Jubilees</i> (VanderKam)
So I shall deliver them ⁷ [into the hand of the An]gels of Mastemot, and they will rule over them.	I will deliver them into the control of the nations ... with the result that they rule over them. (1:13, 19; 23:22–23)
And they will not know and they will not understand	They will recognize that I have been more faithful than they in all their judgments and in all their actions. They will recognize that I have indeed been with them. (1:6) They will know that the Lord is one who executes judgment but shows kindness to hundreds and thousands and to all who love him. (23:31)
that I was angry with them because of their trespass, ⁸ [by which they will have for]saken me,	Then there will be great anger from the Lord against the Israelites because they neglected his covenant, departed... provoked... blasphemed... did not perform. (15:34)
and will have done what is evil in my eyes, and what I did not want they will have chosen:	(see above, 4Q390 1 8–9)
to pursue wealth and gain (בצע) ⁹ [and violence, ea]ch robbing that which belongs to his neigh[b]our, and oppressing each other. They will defile my Temple,	for (the purpose of) cheating and through wealth so that one takes everything that belongs to another... They will defile the holy of holies (23:21)
¹⁰ [they will profane my sabbaths,] they will for[ge]t my[fes]tivals,	(see above, 4Q390 1 8)
and with fo[reign]ers [t]he[y] will profane their offspr[ing].	The man who has defiled his daughter [with intermarriage] within all of Israel is to be eradicated because he has given one of his descendants to Molech and has sinned by defiling them... defile the Lord's sanctuary and... profane his holy name. (30:10, 15)
Their priests will commit violence ¹¹ [] [] and the ¹² [] their sons	much blood is shed on the earth by each group (23:20)
Fig. 2 Col. ii [very fragmentary]	

Not all of the parallels match the idiom perfectly, and the parallel is not always exclusive. That is, in some cases 4Q390 could just as easily have taken the phrase from Ezekiel, Psalms, Deuteronomy, or some other authoritative work, just as *Jubilees* itself presumably did. However, no such source recurs in 4Q390 with as much context or with the same frequency as *Jubilees*. This is not to say 4Q390 interprets *Jubilees* and *not* other sources. Rather, 4Q390 interprets *Jubilees* among other sources in a process of mutual illumination. It should also be noted that the parallels are not sequential. 4Q390 is not a continuous reworking of *Jubilees*. Rather, the language and ideas are thoroughly mixed around in the mind of an author producing a new text. The fact that the language and themes are so internalized, not recycled in a linear, perfunctory way, supports the claim that *Jubilees* was received and used as authoritative Scripture. 4Q390 does not interpret only *Jubilees*, it interprets Scripture, among which *Jubilees* is integral and key.

The most interesting parallels go beyond a distinctive word or phrase, to a major theme or idea. For example, 4Q390 1 3–4 echoes a major theme in *Jubilees*, the theme of testimony and warning, as discussed by James Kugel.⁸

...which I command you so that ⁴you may warn (תעיד, testify to) them.
(4Q390 1 3–4)

For this reason I am commanding you and testifying to you so that you may testify to them. (*Jub.* 6:38; cf. 1:1)

The terms “testify” and “testimony” appear thirty-eight times in VanderKam’s translation. It is clear from the Qumran fragments that the underlying Hebrew uses the same root as תעיד in 4Q390.⁹ A similar notion of warning appears in Ezekiel 3, but with a different verb, להזהיר.

Also, 4Q390 twice mentions forgetting festivals.

...they will forget statute and festival and Sabbath and covenant.
(4Q390 1 8)

...[they will profane my sabbaths,] they will for[ge]t my[fes]tivals...
(4Q390 2 i 10)

They will forget all my law, all my commandments, and all my verdicts. They will err (4Q216: [ושכחון, forget) regarding the beginning of the

⁸ James L. Kugel, “The *Jubilees* Apocalypse,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 322–37, here 328–31.

⁹ תעודה in 4Q216 II 5; IV 4; VII 17.

month, the sabbath, the festival, the jubilee, and the decree. (*Jub.* 1:14, cf. 1:10; 6:37; 23:19)

Forgetting *commandments* is ubiquitous, but *Jubilees* is at the forefront of the explicit argument that the 364-day calendar is a legal requirement of the covenant, and that celebrating a festival on the wrong day is as bad as not celebrating the festival at all. In this case it may be possible that 4Q390 depends on another text that in turn depends on *Jubilees* or the same calendrical crisis. Even here it can be said, as developed below, that among the texts known to be authoritative based on the evidence found at Qumran, none is more likely the source of this idea than *Jubilees*.

Another distinctive idea is the connection between intermarriage and defiling the sanctuary, specifically through the interpretation of “giving offspring to Molech” in Leviticus as intermarriage. Although *Jubilees* is distinctive in persistently and emphatically condemning exogamy, it hardly stands alone in the inclusion of this general idea. A slightly more specific claim that foreigners and sexual relations with foreigners are defiling could come from Ezek 23:30 or Ezra 9:11, and perhaps *Jubilees* was partially influenced by these verses. However, the central argument for *Jubilees* is the interpretation of Leviticus.

I myself will set my face against them, and will cut them off from the people, because they have given of their offspring (מִזְרְעוֹ) to Molech, defiling my sanctuary (טִמְּאָה אֶת־הַמִּקְדָּשׁ) and profaning (וּלְחַלֵּל) my holy name. (Leviticus 20:3, see also 18:21)

Jubilees also drew from the context of illicit unions in Lev 21:15, where a priest profanes his offspring (יְחַלֵּל זֶרְעוֹ) if he marries a non-virgin.¹⁰ The main innovation in *Jubilees* is to understand “giving offspring to Molech” as intermarrying with foreigners, and thus concluding that intermarriage defiles the sanctuary.¹¹

¹⁰ Ezekiel 23:37–39 would appear to support the modern interpretation that immolating children is what defiles the sanctuary. Perhaps, if this passage was also in mind, the author of *Jubilees* understood “causing children to pass over to idols for food” as “giving children in marriage to idolaters for destruction.”

¹¹ A similar interpretation, as a prohibition against impregnating a foreign woman, appears in rabbinic sources, *m. Meg.* 4:9, *b. Meg.* 25a. James L. Kugel, “On the Interpolations in the *Book of Jubilees*,” *RevQ* 24 (2009): 215–272, here 268. Géza Vermès, “Leviticus 18:21 in Ancient Jewish Bible Exegesis,” in *Studies in Aggadah, Targum and Jewish Liturgy in Memory of Joseph Heinemann* (ed. Jakob J. Petuchowski and Ezra Fleischer; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1981), 108–124.

The man who has defiled his daughter [with intermarriage] within all of Israel is to be eradicated because he has given one of his descendants to Molech and has sinned by defiling them....defile the Lord's sanctuary and...profane his holy name. (*Jub.* 30:10, 15)

4Q390 not only associates defiling the sanctuary and intermarriage in the same context, it uses specific language that depends on *Jubilees'* interpretation of Leviticus.

They will defile my sanctuary¹² (אֵת מִקְדָּשִׁי יִטְמָאוּ), [they will profane my sabbaths,] they will for[ge]t my[fes]tivals, and with fo[reign]ers [t]he[y] will profane their offspr[ing] (וּבְבָנֵי נָכַר יִחַלְּלוּ אֶת זֵרֵי עַם) (4Q390 2 i 9–10)

The language of profaning offspring and the context of defiling the sanctuary evoke Leviticus, but “with foreigners” (partially reconstructed) reflects the interpretation found in *Jubilees*. The fact that 4Q390 does not mention Molech implies that it depends on the interpretation, rather than argues for the interpretation. *Jubilees* makes the argument more explicitly.

The broader list of sins shows that *Jubilees* is central, but not exclusive, as a source for 4Q390. The sins match emphases in *Jubilees*, but several could have been culled from the book of Ezekiel as a whole.¹³ Ezekiel 23:37–39 in particular may be on the interpretive horizon, since it associates immolating children (perhaps understood as intermarriage) with profaning the Sabbath as well as defiling the sanctuary, as in 4Q390 (reconstructed). *Jubilees* is an essential ingredient in 4Q390 for forgetting festivals, and the interpretation of intermarriage. Yet, the point is not that 4Q390 interprets *Jubilees* and not Leviticus or Ezekiel. The point is that 4Q390 uses *Jubilees* as the key for understanding Leviticus and Ezekiel. 4Q390 accepts without further argument the meaning of Leviticus as proposed by *Jubilees*, and the major lessons of Ezekiel as emphasized (and supplemented) by *Jubilees*. As the next section will explore further, the use of *Jubilees* in 4Q390 does not distinguish it from Scripture, but rather places it in the category

¹² Dimant translates “Temple.”

¹³ For example, both of the words “wealth” (הוֹן) and “cheating” (בִּצְעַ) are found in Ezekiel, but not in proximity, as they are in *Jub.* 23:21 (Hebrew not preserved). The pair is not as generic as it may first appear. Besides 4Q390, it appears only in sectarian literature, which also could have been influenced by *Jubilees*. See below for the probability that 4Q390 shared a common influence with, but was not influenced by, the sectarian literature.

of Scripture, a category in which any member can be taken as the key to understanding any other member.

Some of the more obvious parallels indicate dependence, but not necessarily direct dependence. *Jubilees* is original in its use of the term “Mastema” for a cosmic figure, and “jubilee” for a period of history, although the words already appeared in Hosea and Leviticus, respectively. As I have argued elsewhere, *Jubilees* does not adopt Mastema as a synonym for Satan, but introduces the term to discuss a figure that resembles Satan at first glance, but subverts the typical function of that figure.¹⁴ The originality of the use of the term in *Jubilees* is confirmed by empirical evidence, as other attestations of the term Mastema appear in texts that certainly or probably post-date *Jubilees*.¹⁵ 4Q390 depends on the sense of the term “Mastema” as a cosmic figure in fragment 1 line 11 and fragment 2 line 7, “the Angels of Mastemot.” The most obvious adaptation is that 4Q390 uses a construct double plural, perhaps reflecting the belief that the present world is dominated by a multitude of evil cosmic forces, contrary to the simple sense of *Jubilees*, as discussed in the following section.¹⁶ It may indeed be the case that מַשְׁטֵמוֹת is a common noun in this phrase, better translated “Angels of Loathings.”¹⁷ But even so, it is part of title that refers to a particular class of cosmic beings. The translation “Angels of Mastemot” is preferable because it preserves the allusiveness of the noun.¹⁸ Although this use of the term can be traced to *Jubilees*, it does not follow from this point alone that 4Q390 uses *Jubilees* directly, since the term becomes reasonably common in the decades following the composition of *Jubilees*.

¹⁴ Todd R. Hanneken, “The Book of Jubilees Among the Apocalypses” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2008), 287–88. Online: <http://etd.nd.edu/ETD-db/theses/available/etd-06302008-112007>.

¹⁵ Kugel (“Interpolations in *Jubilees*,” 221) also rejects the possibility that Mastema (as a name) in *Jubilees* depends on earlier sources.

¹⁶ There is also an innovation in the term “angel,” whereas *Jubilees* uses the title “prince” and mentions Mastema in the heavenly court without explicitly calling Mastema an angel.

¹⁷ So Kugel, “Interpolations in *Jubilees*,” 221 n. 11. Kugel suggests lowercase letters, but context supports capitalization for a title of a specific class of cosmic beings.

¹⁸ Indeed, even in *Jubilees* one could question whether Mastema is necessarily a proper noun. The point here is not so much whether it is a proper or common noun, but whether it refers to a cosmic entity. In Hos 9:7–8 it is a human attribute; in *Jubilees* and following texts it becomes cosmic, often associated with Belial. See further Hanneken, “The Book of Jubilees Among the Apocalypses,” 286–89; James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), 266.

Similarly, counting history in jubilee periods is a major and original feature of *Jubilees*. Leviticus uses the term for a year of release and return, not a period of history. *Jubilees* is not the first heptadic chronology, but it is the first to relate history in jubilee periods.¹⁹ Again, this originality is more than an accident of preservation. The term “jubilee” is not only frequent in *Jubilees*, it is fundamental to the chronological structure of the book. *Jubilees* understands the exodus and conquest as release and return in the fiftieth period of history since creation, adapted from Leviticus 25.²⁰ 4Q390 depends on the idea of a jubilee as a period of history in fragment 1 line 7 and fragment 2 line 4. Again, there is an adaptation in the usage, to be addressed in the second section.

Another formal parallel is worth mentioning, even if it alone is not distinctive. 4Q390 and *Jubilees*, particularly chapter 1, both follow the form of heavenly direct address in the first person (God in 4Q390 and *Jubilees* 1, an angel in the rest of *Jubilees*) to a transmitter of law and testimony in the second person.

The strong correlation between 4Q390 and *Jubilees* can be seen from the persistence with which 4Q390 echoes *Jubilees*, the shared major themes, and the overlap in distinctive formal features. Individual phrases could also have come from an older authority, but no other single text echoes as strongly through 4Q390 as *Jubilees*. The closest competition for this claim is the *Damascus Document*. The parallels are best explained if the *Damascus Document* and 4Q390 made use

¹⁹ James C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (London: Routledge, 1998), 91–109; idem, “Studies in the Chronology of the Book of *Jubilees*,” in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 522–44, here 522–28, translated from “Das chronologische Konzept des Jubiläenbuches,” ZAW 107 (1995): 80–100. Daniel 9 is a good example of a heptadic chronology that would have been compatible with counting in jubilee periods if the idea had been known, which makes it all the more striking that it is not mentioned. 11QMelchizedek and the *Testament of Levi* are later than *Jubilees*. The *Testament of Moses* is also later, and raises the further question of whether the jubilee period should have been 49 years or 50 years. Even if the word ‘jubilee’ could have been understood as a period of history prior to the composition of *Jubilees*, it could still be an innovation to count the period as forty-nine years—thus adapting it to fit heptadic chronology—rather than fifty, which may have been the more obvious implication of Leviticus 25. For the claim that the jubilee period was fifty years in sources before *Jubilees* see Devorah Dimant, “The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch,” VT 33 (1983): 14–29, here 21. For an alternative explanation of *Jub.* 4:21, see Hanneken, “The Book of *Jubilees* Among the Apocalypses,” 130–32.

²⁰ VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 102; idem, “Studies in the Chronology of the Book of *Jubilees*,” 540–43.

of *Jubilees*. One alternative possibility is that 4Q390 depends on the *Damascus Document*, but if the author held the *Damascus Document* as authoritative, one might expect some allusion to the Teacher of Righteousness or distinctive sectarian terminology. Most scholars recognize that 4Q390 does not come from the sect described by the *Damascus Document*, even if some similarities suggest a proximity of some sort.²¹ It is neither possible nor necessary to rule out the probability that the interpretation of *Jubilees* in 4Q390 is influenced in some small way by the *Damascus Document*. It is unlikely that the *Damascus Document* depends on 4Q390, given the date of the oldest manuscript and other indicators of the date of composition.

It is clear enough that the *Damascus Document* depends on *Jubilees*. The most famous example is column 16, which cites *Jubilees* by its ancient title, "the book of the Divisions of the Times into Their Jubilees and Weeks." In the same context the *Damascus Document* elaborates on the distinctive themes of Mastema and the immunity from Mastema learned by Abraham, namely circumcision as the marker of protection from demons, and the related protection of studying the Law of Moses. Also, column 2 of the *Damascus Document* seems to depend on *Jubilees* 2 for the idea that God elected the chosen people from the beginning of creation. The claim in column 10 that knowledge departs at age sixty fits *Jubilees* 23 particularly well. There is one scholar who claims that the *Damascus Document* does *not* depend on *Jubilees*. It is certainly significant that this scholar is the DJD editor of 4Q390, Devorah Dimant.²² Dimant's understanding of "dependence" is unusually narrow. Consequently, one should take it with a grain of salt that Dimant does not identify 4Q390 as particularly dependent on *Jubilees*. Dimant does discuss the parallels between 4Q390 and the sectarian literature, and she suggests a little too vaguely, "it may

²¹ D. Dimant, DJD 30:112; idem, "Israel's Subjugation." The exception is Werman, but she defines the category "Qumran community" as a broad plurality of groups that also produced the Animal Apocalypse and *Jubilees*. She explains the lack of reference to the sect in *Jubilees* and 4Q390 as the result of being addressed to an outside audience. See Werman, "Epochs and End-Time." See also Cana Werman, "The Book of *Jubilees* and the Qumran Community," *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 37–55 [Hebrew]; idem, "The Eschaton in Second Temple Literature," *Tarbiz* 72 (2003): 37–57 [Hebrew].

²² Devorah Dimant, "Two 'Scientific' Fictions: The So-Called Book of Noah and the Alleged Quotation of *Jubilees* in CD 16:3–4," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint: Essays Presented to Eugene Ulrich on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Peter W. Flint, et al.; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 230–49, here 242–48.

be assumed that both drew on the same tradition or on a biblicizing composition.”²³ The evidence examined in this essay suggests that the biblicizing composition in question is none other than the book of *Jubilees*.

More can be said in support of the suggestion that 4Q390 depends directly on *Jubilees*, and not the same intellectual milieu, or a hypothetical intermediate document. Copious evidence outside 4Q390 indicates that *Jubilees* was highly authoritative at Qumran, and additional evidence suggests that some of that authority extended to larger, not strictly sectarian, circles. First, the number of copies of *Jubilees* found at Qumran is surpassed only by Psalms, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Genesis, and Exodus.²⁴ In addition to these, numerous texts bear enough resemblance to *Jubilees* that they were labeled Pseudo-Jubilees (4Q225–227). Imitation and re-working may be an even greater indicator of a text’s authority than additional copies. Among works not canonical in rabbinic Judaism, *Jubilees* also has the rare distinction of apparently being cited as Scripture (that is, 4Q228 1 i 9, כִּי כֵן כָּתוּב, (במחלקיִת).²⁵ Besides the aforementioned citation in the *Damascus Document*, the ancient title “Divisions of the Times” also appears in 4Q384, a text originally grouped with 4Q390 but identified by Dimant as Jeremiah Apocryphon “B” rather than “C.” This does not exhaust

²³ D. Dimant, DJD 30:103. Similarly, Tamási suggests a “Levite tradition” as the source of parallels between CD, ALD, *Jubilees*, and 4Q390. On the issue of forgetting festivals, Tamási suggests that CD and 4Q390 depended on “the original source of *Jubilees*.” See Balázs Tamási, “Prophesized History of the Postexilic Period and Polemics against Priests in 4Q390 from Qumran: Levite Authorship behind the Fragments?” in *With Wisdom as a Robe: Qumran and Other Jewish Studies in Honour of Ida Fröhlich* (ed. Karoly Daniel Dobos and Miklos Koszeghy; Hebrew Bible Monographs 21; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2008), 310–28, here 320, 328. A virtually identical article with the same title appeared in *Henoch* 31/2 (2009).

²⁴ Milik counted 15 copies of *Jubilees* including 4Q217, which VanderKam excluded to count 14. See James C. VanderKam, “The Jubilees Fragments from Qumran Cave 4,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. Julio C. Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 635–48, here 640, 648. The latest counts for other Hebrew texts found at Qumran are 35–37 for Psalms, 28–30 for Deuteronomy, 21 for Isaiah, 20–21 for Genesis, and 16 for Exodus.

²⁵ Line 1 of the same fragment, partially reconstructed, uses the ancient title of the book of *Jubilees*, [במחלקיִת] קְוִיָּה הָעֵתִים. Other language in the fragment is reminiscent of *Jubilees*. See VanderKam, “The Jubilees Fragments from Qumran Cave 4,” 644; J. VanderKam and J. Milik, DJD 13:178; James C. VanderKam, “Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 382–402, here 393.

the catalog of the influence of *Jubilees* among the Scrolls, which will likely grow with additional study.²⁶

It is slightly more difficult to gauge the influence of *Jubilees* outside the narrow confines of the sectarian literature. Cana Werman has even argued that *Jubilees* itself is a sectarian composition.²⁷ If that were the case, however, *Jubilees* would be the only sectarian composition preserved and used by a scribal tradition outside the sect. As VanderKam has suggested, the canonical status of *Jubilees* in Ethiopic Christianity likely reflects a judgment by an ancient Jewish community.²⁸ Other Christians stopped short of treating *Jubilees* as canonical, but the text was at least known to a wide circle of Syriac, Greek, and Latin speaking Christians. A Hebrew copy found its way to the medieval Asaph the physician by unknown channels.²⁹ Even if *Jubilees* was less authoritative in circles distant from Qumran, the circle of 4Q390 is not distant from Qumran, as indicated by the copy found at Qumran and other similarities discussed in the next section of this essay.

External evidence indicates that *Jubilees* was authoritative in the world around 4Q390, and internal evidence indicates that 4Q390 dwells on *Jubilees* from beginning to end, adopting language, style, and some ideas. This close and persistent use of authoritative literature brings us to the category of *interpretation*. The case for identifying

²⁶ Expanding on an observation made by VanderKam, Shemesh argues that 4Q265 is a rewriting of *Jubilees* (the connection between Leviticus 12 and Eden) and concludes that *Jubilees* had canonical status at Qumran. Shemesh also points to *Jub.* 22:16–22 as a source for 1QS 5, and to *Jub.* 2:29 and 50:8 as sources for the Sabbath halakha in 4Q251 11 3 and CD 11:1–2. See Aharon Shemesh, “4Q265 and the Authoritative Status of *Jubilees* at Qumran,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of *Jubilees** (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 247–60. Cf. VanderKam, “Authoritative Literature”; idem, “Questions of Canon Viewed Through the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Canon Debate* (ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 91–109, here 106. See also Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and *Jubilees*,” in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. George J. Brooke and Florentino García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 3–10; Charlotte Hempel, “The Place of *The Book of Jubilees* at Qumran and Beyond,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. Timothy H. Lim; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 187–196.

²⁷ Werman, “*Jubilees* and the Qumran Community,” 37–55 [Hebrew]. See note 21 above.

²⁸ VanderKam, “Authoritative Literature,” 400.

²⁹ For a discussion of the evidence that Asaph depends on a Hebrew copy of *Jubilees* (rather than a source or translation of *Jubilees*) see Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 171–74.

4Q390 as *interpretation* of *Jubilees* is strengthened by the tension between the simple sense of *Jubilees* and the use to which it is put in 4Q390. Simply put, the authority of *Jubilees* for the author of 4Q390 is evident not only in the extent to which the author adopts *Jubilees* as it stands, but in the extent to which the author insists that the text concords with the author's own ideas, contrary to the simple sense. As John Barton has discussed, the need for interpretation is a hallmark of Scripture.³⁰

DEVIATION FROM *JUBILEES*

The first major way that 4Q390 adapts the simple sense of *Jubilees* pertains to the issue of angels ruling over Israel. 4Q390 follows *Jubilees* three times almost verbatim for the image of angels of Mastema or Belial ruling over Israel.

And the Angels of *Mas[te]mot* will rule over them... (4Q390 1 11)

May the spirits of Mastema *not* rule over you and your descendants to remove you from following the Lord who is your God from now and forever. (*Jub.* 19:28, emphasis mine)

...and[there]will be the rule of Belial over them... (4Q390 2 i 3–4)

May the spirit of Belial *not* rule over them... (*Jub.* 1:20, emphasis mine)

So I shall deliver them [into the hand of the An]gels of Mastemot, and they will rule over them. (4Q390 2 i 6–7)

I will deliver them into the control of the *nations*...with the result that they rule over them. (*Jub.* 1:13, 19; 23:22–23, emphasis mine)

The biggest difference in the first two examples is that *Jubilees* has in the middle the word “not,” which changes the meaning entirely. It is not simply the case that different grammatical constructions apply to different points in the narrative. *Jubilees* does not imply that direct rule by God is merely wishful thinking or the exception. *Jubilees* allows that individuals and even a whole generation can sin, but chastisement and repentance occurs between God and Israel with no angelic outsourcing. *Jubilees* never compromises on the principle in chapter 15,

[God] made spirits rule over all [the nations] in order to lead them astray from following him. But *over Israel* he made no angel or spirit

³⁰ Barton, “Significance of a Fixed Canon,” 78.

rule because *he alone is their ruler*. He will guard them and require them for himself from his angels, his spirits, and everyone, and all his powers so that he may guard them and bless them and so that they may be his and he theirs from now and forever. (*Jub.* 15:31–32, emphasis mine)

Jubilees 10 accounts for the existence of demons, but rather than dominating and afflicting the righteous, they are diminished and restricted to punishing the wicked Gentiles. Israelites can be in danger in as much as they may be tempted to join with Gentiles, but the righteous who study the sacred books have immunity. The absence of angelic agency is especially striking in *Jubilees* 23, where one would expect angelic rule, conflict, and judgment to appear in the eschatological climax of a historical apocalypse. In fact, angels never appear in the chapter, and accusers or satans are mentioned only as being absent. Elsewhere in the book, Mastema is more a parody of an evil ruler who afflicts Israel. Mastema takes on unbecoming functions attributed to God in Genesis-Exodus, such as proposing a test that Abraham sacrifice Isaac. In each case, Mastema never claims any victory, only immediate shame.³¹ For example, the folly of the Egyptians is attributed to Mastema, but successful evil, such as throwing babies into the Nile, is not attributed to Mastema.

In general, *Jubilees* rejects the view of the world as corrupt, ruled by evil powers, and in need of radical divine intervention. 4Q390 takes the opposite view. One might expect a text like 4Q390 not to use a text with such a different tone. The fact that 4Q390 uses it anyway, and projects onto it a view of the world at odds with the simple sense, even while borrowing the same literary formulae, indicates the status of *Jubilees* as a received authority. This relationship is more than simply dependence on a source, as could be said of less tendentious borrowed language and even whole copies. It is the relationship of interpretation and that which requires interpretation, which partly defines the category “Scripture.”

A second area in which the pessimistic view in 4Q390 clashes with the optimistic view in *Jubilees* is the view of the priesthood and the temple. From the top of fragment 1 we learn that Israel is delivered into the hands of the sons of Aaron, to rule over them. The language here parallels three other instances in which Israel is handed over to or ruled over by the angels of Mastemot and Belial. The view of the

³¹ Todd R. Hanneken, “Angels and Demons in the Book of Jubilees and Contemporary Apocalypses,” *Henoch* 28/2 (2006): 11–25, here 20.

Second Temple priesthood is certainly negative, although the polemic should not be overstated.³² Similarly, the temple, though originally built by good people, becomes corrupt and seems to remain so for an extended period of time, from the top to the bottom of fragment 2.

In *Jubilees* the view of the priesthood is overwhelmingly positive. The apostate priests and defiled sanctuary of the 160s are exceptional and temporary.³³ The praise of Levi spans three chapters from 30 to 32 and goes to the extreme of overkill with six arguments for the elevation of Levi.³⁴ This is in addition to references throughout the book, such as the hierarchy of three types of angels created on the first day to mirror the hierarchy of Levites, Israel, and other nations (*Jub.* 2:2, 18–19; 15:31; 30:18). There is no suggestion that some Levites will be wicked. The praise of Levi without mention of Aaron fits with the emphasis on unity in *Jubilees*, not an anachronistic polemic between Levites and Aaronides.³⁵ The praise of Levi is amplified with language of eternality, without eschatological reform. It is possible that an interpreter saw the positive view in *Jubilees* as the original plan that later became corrupted, but the simple sense of *Jubilees* leaves no suggestion that the teaching and cultic authority of the Levites will disintegrate. Similarly, *Jubilees* has a very positive view of the temple, with no indication that there would be anything wrong with it other than the crisis of the 160s B.C.E.³⁶

³² Hanan Eshel views the priests as singled-out for condemnation, but it could be that all Israel sins under the rule of the priests. The time when Israel is ruled by priests could be a relatively neutral way of describing the Second Temple period, without implying that all sons of Aaron are inherently evil. See Hanan Eshel, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, 22, 24, 26. See also Werman, “Epochs and End-Time,” 248–49.

³³ *Jubilees* refers to a generation of warring and corrupt claimants to the high priesthood, “They will mention the great name but neither truly nor rightly. They will defile the holy of holies with the impure corruption of their contamination” (*Jub.* 23:21). This chapter emphasizes, however, that this would occur for only one generation (*Jub.* 23:14, 15, 16, 22) before divine punishment and human repentance would reverse the situation.

³⁴ Hanneken, “The Book of Jubilees Among the Apocalypses,” 499–505.

³⁵ The battles between priestly families that raged in the First Temple period through the early Second Temple period were not the same battles that raged in the late Second Temple period. Starting with Chronicles, the status of the Levites was established enough that one could say positive things about Levites without being anti-Aaronide or anti-Zadokite. For a different view, that 4Q390 opposes the Aaronides and therefore was written by a Levite, see Tamási, “Polemics against Priests in 4Q390,” 310–28.

³⁶ Hanneken, “The Book of Jubilees Among the Apocalypses,” 429–30. This is not to deny that *Jubilees* still imagined a more perfect, ideal functioning of the temple in the future.

A third area concerns the unity of Israel in general. For this point it is necessary to distinguish two senses of the word “sectarian.” The first sense is belonging to the particular family of sects described with distinct terminology among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The second sense is a broader quality of rejecting the unity of Israel in favor of a small group that differs from everyone else in knowledge and eschatological vindication. 4Q390 does not reflect the specific history and language of the *Damascus Document*, but it does reflect the broader sense of rejection of most of Israel. Besides the aforementioned disparaging of the ruling priesthood, 4Q390 first reflects the view that the righteous are exceptional:

And they too will do what is evil in my eyes, like all that which the Israelites had done in the former days of their kingdom, except for those who will come first from the land of their captivity to build the Temple. (4Q390 1 4–6)

These few are characterized by reception of commandments and understanding that distinguish them from the rest of Israel (4Q390 1 6). The majority persists in ignorance with no hope of return (4Q390 2 i 7). Most of Israel is given over to annihilation, while only a remnant is separated: “But I shall leave among them refugees so that they should not be annihilated in my wrath and when my face is hidden from them” (4Q390 1 10). The permanent rejection and rule by Mastema that *Jubilees* applied to foreign nations applies to most of Israel in 4Q390.

Jubilees frequently emphasizes the permanent election of all of Israel, from the first week of creation through eternity. Other than the elevation of Levi, no divisions within Israel are imagined. As Martha Himmelfarb observed, sin in *Jubilees* is not sectarian but generational.³⁷ Indeed, more often it is personal. *Jubilees* might be called proto-sectarian in some respects. Some of the positions defended strongly in *Jubilees*, such as the solar calendar, went on to be rejected in the forms of Judaism that retained dominance. *Jubilees* also maintains the threat, at least on the issue of circumcision, that Jews can forfeit their divine protection and even their status as Jews, which could have serious sectarian implications.³⁸ Even if the author was naïve about some

³⁷ Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 81–83.

³⁸ In particular, *Jub.* 15:26 defines two groups (included in and excluded from the covenant), and suggests that one can forfeit inclusion, “Anyone who is born, the flesh

implications, there is no sense that most of those who claim to be Jews are not really Jews, or that a certain group of Jews who follow different legal rulings are beyond repentance. The sinners are uninformed individuals, not a sect. When language of “elect,” “remnant,” and “righteous plant” does occur, it strikingly refers to all of Israel, as in *Jub.* 21:25, where Jacob is the “remnant” of Isaac, while Esau is excluded.³⁹ In the eschatological sequences in *Jubilees* 1 and 23 there is no vengeance against other parts of Israel; rather, the whole nation eventually returns. Similarly, *Jubilees* rejects the necessity of esoteric or elite knowledge. The heavenly tablets are revealed and made plain to all Israel at Sinai, not an elect few. The Levites have the role of teaching the commandments to the people, not hoarding secret knowledge. Again in 4Q390, similar language varies mainly with the word “not.”

And they will *not* know and they will *not* understand... (4Q390 2 i 7, emphasis mine)

They will recognize that I have been more faithful than they in all their judgments and in all their actions. They will recognize that I have indeed been with them. (*Jub.* 1:6)

They will know that the Lord is one who executes judgment but shows kindness to hundreds and thousands and to all who love him. (*Jub.* 23:31)

of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eighth day does not belong to the people of the pact...but to the people (meant for) destruction” (*Jub.* 15:26). *Jubilees* often contrasts Jews and Gentiles, and warns against Jews going in the ways of Gentiles. Thus, one who avoided or covered circumcision entirely (see 1 Macc 1:15) would be counted among the Gentiles. The controversy in *Jub.* 15:26 is that it seems to deny the Jewishness not only of those who reject circumcision entirely, but also those for whom it is delayed for any reason. The Mishnah would indicate that the Pharisees allowed circumcision to be slightly delayed (*m. Šabb.* 19:5). It is clear that the author of *Jubilees* had strong opinions and knew of other opinions, but the sociological dimension—defined groups or sects within Judaism—is far from clear. It is not clear that *Jubilees* knew anything about the Pharisees, or thought of any group as enemies of God because they tolerated ninth-day circumcision, or would have thought of someone circumcised on the ninth day as permanently excluded from any hope of repentance. It may be the case that the author viewed boys circumcised late as temporarily unprotected from demons, or rejected adult converts, or simply had the status of Ishmael in mind more than contemporary legal debates (see Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 241–43).

³⁹ There may be an exception in *Jub.* 1:29, “all the elect ones of Israel,” but in light of the rest of the book it is best to understand the verse as identifying the chosen people with Israel, not isolating a chosen people within Israel.

Jubilees even rejects the view of revelation as coded such that elite wisdom is necessary to decode the true meaning. As Armin Lange has shown, *Jubilees* rejects revelation encoded in symbolic dreams even when it occurs in Genesis.⁴⁰ *Jubilees* and 4Q390 share a common notion of salvific knowledge that is strictly limited to one group while all others lack knowledge and are abandoned to demonic rule and destruction. The fundamental difference is that in *Jubilees* the elect group is all of Israel apart from the Gentiles, but in 4Q390 the elect group is a sect apart from the rest of Israel.

One last example will show how the same language can be adapted to a different context to convey a significantly different meaning. 4Q390 draws from *Jubilees* for the idea of counting history in jubilee periods. Jubilee periods are indeed frequent and fundamental to the book, and particularly to its argument that the jubilee of jubilees was the release and return of Israel from Egypt. Equally striking, however, is the exception. *Jubilees* never mentions determined times for sin and repentance.⁴¹ All events, even divine actions, are conditional on human action.⁴² The basic message to humans is that they should repent, not persevere until a particular time appointed for divine intervention. Like Deuteronomy, *Jubilees* predicts the occurrence of sin, punishment, repentance, and restoration, but it does not present it as temporally pre-determined. 4Q390 adopts the idea of relating history in jubilee periods, but applies the idea to precisely the area that the book of *Jubilees* did not, the prediction of sin.

⁴⁰ Armin Lange, "Divinatorische Träume und Apokalyptik im Jubiläenbuch," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. Matthias Albani, et al.; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr, 1997), 25–38.

⁴¹ Martha Himmelfarb, "Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets: The Claim to Authority of the *Book of Jubilees*," in *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* (ed. Benjamin G. Wright; Scholars Press Homage Series 24; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 19–29, here 24.

⁴² This remains true even if one accepts David Lambert's claim that the human action, in the case of *Jubilees*, is not repentance in the sense of turning away from sin, but recognition of human sinfulness and the need for divine transformation. However, the two options are not mutually exclusive in *Jubilees*, and human action precedes divine action. Returning to God and the law appears frequently in *Jubilees*, even in Lambert's central passage, where Israel "will return to me [God] in a fully upright manner" before God circumcises their minds (*Jub.* 1:23). Lambert's arguments for discounting other passages that describe repentance are not convincing (*Jub.* 1:15; 5:17; 23:26). See David Lambert, "Did Israel Believe That Redemption Awaited Its Repentance? The Case of *Jubilees* 1," *CBQ* 68 (2006): 631–50.

And from (the time) when that generation comes to an end, in the seventh jubilee of the devastation of the land, they will forget statute and festival and Sabbath and covenant. (4Q390 1 7–8)

[And] in that jubilee they will be violating all my statues and all my commandments... (4Q390 2 i 4–5)

4Q390 adopts the authority of *Jubilees*, but projects onto it a view of evil as temporally predetermined, contrary to the original sense of the source.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, 4Q390 interprets *Jubilees* as Scripture. That entails relying on the authority of *Jubilees* by adopting its language, style, imagery and motifs. It also entails adapting the apparent meaning of the text to concord with the ideas of the interpreter. The tensions do not diminish but strengthen the case for the status of *Jubilees*. As Scripture, *Jubilees* needs to be interpreted. It can and must be understood differently as applying to different circumstances.⁴³ As indicated by column 16 of the *Damascus Document*, *Jubilees* was received as the authoritative specification of the times of Israel's blindness. An author who accepted such a status of *Jubilees* was compelled to give the impression of conformity with *Jubilees*, even if interpretive labor was required.

⁴³ Cf. 4Q252 1 i 7–10 as a "correction" of *Jub.* 5:27, and other examples discussed by James C. VanderKam, "The Origins and Purposes of the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. Matthias Albani, et al.; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 3–24, here 3.